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philosophy. He is right in thinking that the demand does not comport with the philosophy; and I submit that the philosophy is false. Grotius, Penn, Leibnitz, Kant, Bentham, Franklin, Jefferson, Hugo, Mazzini, Cobden, Gladstone, Channing, Sumner, and the whole great company of living prophets of a better organized world, not only the party of peace but the party of progress altogether, would emphasize the declaration. All their activities and all their hopes are based upon their confidence that there is no other philosophy of history so false, and that the one thing in this God's universe which has changed most in the few past millenniums which history illuminates, and which is changing fastest today, is this same human nature. Stocks and stones are always stocks and stones, and ape and tiger will always stay ape and tiger; but the nature of the bushman and the savage, the human nature revealed to us in the dawn of the historic process, is almost as different from the nature of Emerson and Lincoln and the generation of Hague conferences as brute from lowest man. History is precisely the record of the change of human nature; and it was Emerson himself who said—and it is but another statement of the same truth—that it is the record of the decline of war. There was not half so much war in Christendom in the nineteenth century as in the eighteenth, and there will not be half so much in the twentieth as in the nineteenth; and the distinctive mark of our age is the development of arbitration and international tribunals.

It would be rash to say that Abraham Lincoln was a greater mind than Daniel Webster; but American human nature advanced so rapidly in the decade following 1850 that he became its vastly truer representative. The imperative movement for international order is at this very time describing the same course which the anti-slavery movement described in that time; it is passing from the stage of a great moral crusade into that of the most urgent and irrepressible political issue. The great Senator whose seat Mr. Lodge now occupies, Charles Sumner, prepared in 1870 a powerful address upon "The Duel Between France and Germany," in which he showed that wars are but the duels of nations. In two centuries our Anglo-Saxon human nature advanced so far that while at the beginning a man who would not fight a duel for his "honor" was accounted no gentleman; at the end he was accounted no gentleman if he would; and precisely the same process is going on with nations, whose duelling is vastly more unjust than the other—for the "gentlemen" were scrupulous that weapons should be equal, and the nations scruple at nothing to get advantage.

Human nature is already vastly better than those believe who so define it as to justify inertia and obstruction. The demands of the man in the street, the burdened millions of Europe and America, the plain people, are so much in advance of the concessions and distrust of the politicians, that the slowness and misgivings of these, their poor esteem of present human nature, are to them incomprehensible; and so great is their revulsion everywhere from the war system, and so clear their sense of its waste, its wickedness, and its irrationality, that they are by wholesale accusing their governments, in their continued compromise with it, of insincerity. Even Mr. Roosevelt said at Christiania three years ago,

"Granted sincerity of purpose, the great powers of the world should find no insurmountable difficulty in reaching an agreement which would put an end to the present costly and growing extravagance of expenditure on naval armaments." Granted a just and true estimate of American human nature in this year of grace and of the measure of civilization which the world has actually achieved, the American Senate would find no difficulty in believing with Mr. Taft that treaties with every one of the great nations which wish for such treaties, "pledging ourselves to abide the adjudication of an international court in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiation, no matter what it involves, whether honor, territory, or money," would be absolutely safe, would be hailed with joy and pride by the overwhelming majority of our people, and would place them where they rightfully belong, in the leadership of the nations in the commanding movement of the age for the supplanting of the system of war by the system of law.

Internationalism.

By Andrea Hofer-Proudfoot, President League of International Amity.

This has been a great century of race wandering.

Not in tribes and hordes have the peoples pushed from deserts to fertile fields, as in prehistoric times, but through railways and steamships they have emptied themselves from one nation into another at the call of industrial opportunity.

The intermixture of races in the last few decades has been so rapidly progressing that we are fast coming into a new attitude toward each other as nations.

Look at the United States alone, which was once a purely English Puritan race. There are more Germans in Chicago today than there are in Vienna. There are more Italians in New York than in Trieste. There are more Polish people in Pittsburg than in Lemberg. There are more Norwegians in Minneapolis and St. Paul than in Bergen. And yet these are distinctly American cities. This fact is true of other countries. There are more Spanish in South America than under the crown of Spain. London is a city of all nations. Canada imports bodily an entire Russian community—the Dhukobors. And so the cases might be multiplied.

Nearly every country has had the same experience in the agglomeration of peoples. With this situation comes for us all a new responsibility for each other, a new inter-racial doctrine, and a new phase of politics.

Alliances with the foreigner as laborer within the borders are quite as necessary today as alliances with foreign nations themselves, for the sake of peace. To make the inwandering portion of the inhabitants potential and helpful they must be adjusted to and understood, lest they honeycomb the native body with dissonances.

Out of all this has grown a distinct movement toward internationalism, and today the internationalist is in our midst circulating his doctrine. Everywhere the word is creeping into the discussions of social and political bodies; newspapers casually picked up announce such gatherings, and the organizations calling themselves "International" are running into the hundreds, where a few decades ago we had hardly anything inter-

nationalized except the post. Inter-racial geography has become a recognized science, and medicine is taking the intermixtures of peoples as a basis for new investigations and deductions. National transference is argued as an offset to race decadence and even race suicide.

The international mind is certainly growing, and bound to dictate future policies the world over. Such an empire as the British, which has the most diverse peoples to assimilate and the most scattered complexities to handle, must reach out into the international mind for sufficient wisdom.

What has been brought together through the accidents of quick communion and the *Zeitgeist*, entangling race with race, will demand, and forthwith out of itself produce, an inter-consciousness also. It will also produce leaders composite enough to deal with the needs.

We must, both as individuals and as nations, enter into the recognition of this international mind and seek to realize what it means and what it can do to assist us in the broader life which each single State and each individual must draw out of the composite.

Race prejudice is the bane of every nationalizing energy. The nation, in order to exist, must attempt to centralize and unify. Race prejudice is purely centrifugal, and it must be overcome, or it is a danger to the "center of rest," which is the life of the family, the home, State, and individual.

Warring internal elements are even more ravaging than external wars. To avoid both these, conglomerate nations must seek to inculcate international-mindedness in their leaders as well as their peoples. To gain this concept we must learn to measure each group from the point of view of their own standard rather than from one outside and foreign to them.

We shall never be able to explain away the vast differences which make races so diametrically opposite in their ideas, standards, culture—but we must realize these differences as valuable, and be glad that they exist for the sake of their peculiar contribution to the whole.

As one feels regret to see the lovely (and oft unlovely) customs and costumes of the provinces disappear, so we might almost regret to feel that this amalgamating process is going to rob us of the manifold facets of the solitaire of civilization, each of which adds its scintillations to the intensive whole.

The internationalist holds that there is a place in the world for the peculiar contribution of all these races and sub-races. The one vital question we must answer is how are we going to bring about the consciousness which will allow all these diverging elements to live and to let live—to keep them from hampering and hindering one another, from criticising and ridiculing back and forth, and help them to live together as fellow-partakers in the vast good which is bound to come to each when civilization declares her dividends.

Of course time will do all this; but that is the very argument which should make us all eager to have it realized in the now, instead of stupidly awaiting the disintegrations of time. If we have a marble structure to build, we do not wait for frost and thaw and accident to cut our blocks, as it cuts the caves for the cavern-dwellers. We hew our building material with every device of art and science and get the result on exact calculations.

We have in the same way the inevitable structure of

an international whole to upbuild—time is bound to do it in his stately eons—but why not, as wise citizens, as statesmen, as idealists and prophets, all hands together, carve out this ornate structure of intermingled concepts, this race architecture, where every part is the vital contribution produced by another type and kind and contributed in its actual entity and entirety?

Our "music of the future" will not only be a full combination of the arts and sciences, but of the heart-throbs as well, and its commingling chords of radiant energy will really be a harmonious whole—a compositely unified humanity. The large, calm chorus of the sane citizen who wishes a settled progressive state to exist must learn to sing something broader than a three-colored patriotism inside his commercial citadels as well as on the international highway. He must know that there is a keen interdependence in his foreign as well as his domestic relationships. He must be willing to lift the political discussions of the fireside up into the light of outer-world necessities. He must learn to see men as individuals not as English, German, Italian, French. He must see brotherhood as a principle of business and religion, not as a far-off, never-to-be-realized sentiment.

All our burning questions—social, financial, domestic—will come into a new light by this process of internationalization, and who knows but we may through it find a clearer solution and a more acceptable remedy than any set of reformers can now devise who are looking through the narrow spectacles of any one race.

Human progress cannot be forever blocked. This very mingling of the nations will be the disintegrating factor which will dissolve the cement of time-honored prejudices—through which prejudices alone the exploiters of the public weal can work.

Eugenically we will discover that we must sanitize the whole world if we would preserve ourselves, and work for the big general good if we would preserve our own little good. What we are bound to amalgamate with and assimilate we will first purify, lest it destroy us. So the international necessity which is being heaped upon us will compel us to perfect our brother man.

We are already international; now let us live up to it.

(Concluded next month.)

The Present Demands of the Peace Movement.

By Benjamin F. Trueblood.

Address delivered at the St. Louis Peace Congress, May 2, 1913.

The peace movement in its organized form is now nearing its hundredth anniversary. The century covered by it has been, from the pacifist point of view, one of extraordinary significance, the full force of which it is not easy to state. From three societies, small and little known, in 1815, the movement has grown till now the peace organizations throughout the world number more than six hundred, several of them of national scope, and new ones are coming into existence continually. These organizations, devoted exclusively to the one great end, are closely affiliated in an International Congress which meets annually in leading cities, and in a Permanent Peace Bureau at Berne, whose governing board is composed of thirty-five prominent pacifists